DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 156 335 PS 009 982

AUTHOR Hoeppner, Marie
TITLE Where Have All the Children Gone? The Adoption Market Today.
INSTITUTION Rand Corp., Santa Monica, Calif.
REPORT NO P-5990
PUB DATE Sep 77
NOTE 30p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Abortions; *Adoption; *Child Welfare; Illegitimate Births; Psychological Needs; Socioeconomic Influences; *State Legislation; *Statistical Surveys; Tables (Data); *Unwed Mothers

ABSTRACT

This paper examines adoption statistics from 1969 through 1975 and suggests that two factors contribute to the decline in the number of children adopted during the 1970s: (1) the increased availability of abortion, and (2) the growing propensity of unwed mothers to keep their children. Changes in the pattern of all adoptions, in the number of illegitimate children adopted, and in the type of persons adopting them are analyzed. Adoptions by relatives have remained constant and currently represent the majority of total adoptions. Social-psychological correlates of unwed mothers who keep their babies indicate that major predictors of that decision are low socioeconomic status, little education, religion, older age and an insecure psychological profile. It is recommended that the advantages of adoption to the child be stressed to young women who face the dilemma of unwed pregnancy, so that they may make more realistic and responsible decisions. (Author/CM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED156335

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

WHERE HAVE ALL THE CHILDREN GONE?
THE ADOPTION MARKET TODAY

Marie Hoeppner

September 1977

PS 009982

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Rand Corporation

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

P-5990

The Rand Paper Series

Papers are issued by The Rand Corporation as a service to its professional Staff. Their purpose is to facilitate the exchange of ideas among those who share the author's research interests; Papers are not reports prepared in fulfillment of Rand's contracts or grants. Views expressed in a Paper are the author's own, and are not necessarily shared by Rand or its research sponsors.

The Rand Corporation
Santa Monica, California 90406

ABSTRACT

The total number of children adopted has declined steadily since 1970, suggesting that the pool of children available for adoption has decreased. Adoptions by relatives have remained almost constant since that time, and currently represent the majority of total adoptions. As a result, adoptions by unrelated petitioners have decreased proportionately. Most illegitimate children are still adopted by unrelated petitioners, but the gap between adoptions by unrelated and related petitioners narrowed considerably between 1971 and 1973, and may be even smaller now. In both the case of adoptions of all children and adoptions of illegitimate children, the tendency for children to be adopted by relatives in greater proportion than in the past may be attributed to the fact that more women are choosing to abort, leaving fewer children to be adopted by unrelated petitioners.

The influence of abortion on reducing the numbers of children available for adoption does not account for the entire drop in supply; the growing propensity of unwed mothers to keep their babies is also a factor. Social-psychological correlates of unmarried mothers who keep their babies indicate that major predictors of that decision are low socio-economic status, little education, religion, older age, and an insecure psychological profile. It is recommended that the advantages of adoption to the child be stressed to young women who face the dilemma of unwed pregnancy, so that they may make more realistic and responsible decisions.

SUMMARY

Two factors may be contributing to the decline in the number of children adopted during the 1970s: the increased availability of abortion, and the growing propensity of unwed mothers to keep their children.

An examination of adoption statistics over the past few years reveals that the total number of children adopted has declined steadily since 1970, suggesting that fewer children may be available for adoption. Adoptions by relatives have remained almost constant since that time, and currently represent the majority of total adoptions. Adoptions by unrelated petitioners, however, have decreased proportionately.

Most illegitimate children are still adopted by unrelated petitioners, but the gap between adoptions by unrelated and related petitioners narrowed considerably between 1971 and 1973, and may be even smaller now. In both the case of adoptions of all children and adoptions of illegitimate children, the tendency for children to be adopted by relatives in greater proportion than in the past may be attributed to the fact that more women are choosing to abort, leaving fewer children to be adopted by unrelated petitioners.

Comparisons of adoptions of illegitimate children by type of petitioner between abortion and nonabortion states reveals that:

- States with early liberalized abortion laws show a greater proportion of adoptions by relatives than states without such laws.
- Nonabortion states in 1971 that became abortion states by 1973 show an increase in the proportion of adoptions by relatives.

- The ratio of all illegitimate children adopted to all illegitimate births in nonabortion states in 1971 that became abortion states by 1973 decreased during that period, indicating that the availability of abortion could have been instrumental in reducing the number of children available for adoption.
- The ratio of illegitimate children adopted by relatives to illegitimate births increased in the majority of these states during that time, supporting the contention that related adoptions can be expected to be higher in states where abortion is readily available.

The influence of abortion in reducing the numbers of children available for adoption does not account for the entire drop in supply. This phenomenon is also due to the growing numbers of unwed mothers who decide to keep their babies.

Studies of social-psychological correlates of unmarried mothers who keep their babies indicate that major predictors of that decision are low socio-economic status, little education, religion (Catholic or Protestant Fundamental), older age, and an insecure psychological profile. Unwed mothers are frequently at an emotional and financial disadvantage in their efforts to rear their children, and the consequences of their decision are often costly to them, their children, and society.

It is recommended that the advantages of adoption to the child be stressed to young women who face the dilemma of unwed motherhood, so that they may make more realistic and responsible decisions.

WHERE HAVE ALL THE CHILDREN GONE?
THE ADOPTION MARKET TODAY

Marie Hoeppner*

The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California

INTRODUCTION

The number of illegitimate children available for adoption has fallen significantly in recent years. As a consequence, there is a marked shortage of babies (particularly white babies) in the adoption market. Two factors seem to be contributing to the decreased supply of babies available for adoption: the increased availability of abortion, and the growing propensity of young unmarried mothers to keep their babies.(1,2,3)

Abortion now provides an option for girls who formerly would have had to give their babies up for adoption. It seems reasonable, then, to assume that many girls who do bring their pregnancies to term may have rejected abortion because they planned to keep and rear their children. Conversely, girls who were unable to obtain an abortion and completed their pregnancies would be more likely to relinquish their children for adoption than those who had made a choice.

The following discussion illustrates two major changes that have occurred in numbers of children being adopted and in the type of adoptive petitioner. Changes in the pattern of all adoptions are

---

*This Paper was prepared for possible publication in *Child Welfare*.

examined, and changes in the number of illegitimate children adopted and the type of persons adopting them are explored.

An examination of adoption statistics over the past few years reveals that the total number of children adopted have declined steadily since 1970, suggesting that fewer children may be available for adoption. Adoptions by relatives have remained almost constant since that time, and currently represent the majority of total adoptions. Adoptions by unrelated petitioners, however, have decreased proportionately.

Most illegitimate children are still adopted by unrelated petitioners, but the gap between adoptions by unrelated and related petitioners narrowed considerably between 1971 and 1973, and may be even smaller now. In both the case of adoptions of all children and adoptions of illegitimate children, the tendency for children to be adopted by relatives in greater proportion than in the past may be attributed to the fact that more women are choosing to abort, leaving fewer children to be adopted by unrelated petitioners.

METHODOLOGY

Adoption data published by the National Center for Social Statistics for 1969 through 1975 are examined for trends in total adoptions and adoptions of illegitimate children. These data are somewhat limited because states did not report adoptions consistently for all years, and the data on the type of petitioner adopting illegitimate children in 1974 and 1975 are given only for unrelated petitioners.*

---

*Appendix Tables 1 through 6 provide state data on total adoptions and adoptions of illegitimate children by type of petitioner. Where data were missing, interval entries were estimated by linear interpolation between successive years; entries in margins were estimated from entries in the same row, using yearly growth rates determined from states having annual data.

The discussion of type of petitioner adopting illegitimate children is thus restricted to 1971 through 1973. Nevertheless, these data do provide a benchmark for examining changing patterns of adoptive behavior.

Changes in the proportions of illegitimate children adopted by relatives in abortion and nonabortion states are examined over time. Rates of illegitimate children adopted per 1000 illegitimate births per state in both types of states are discussed as well. (See pages 7 and 8 for limitations of the latter measurement technique.)

Finally, a review of the literature permits a social-psychological profile of unmarried young women who choose to keep their babies, and the determinants and consequences of their decision are discussed.

TOTAL ADOPTIONS

The number of children adopted in the United States fell from 159,000 in 1969 to 119,000 in 1975.* Figure 1 (on following page) illustrates that a sharp decline took place between 1971 and 1972, and again between 1973 and 1974, after which adoptions declined more gradually.**

RELATIONSHIP OF PETITIONER

A change in the type of petitioner adopting children took place at about the same time that adoptions fell. Before 1970, more children

---

*Derived from 49 states reporting to the National Center for Social Statistics.

**Since black and other races represent only a small proportion of all children adopted, the focus of this discussion will be primarily on whites.

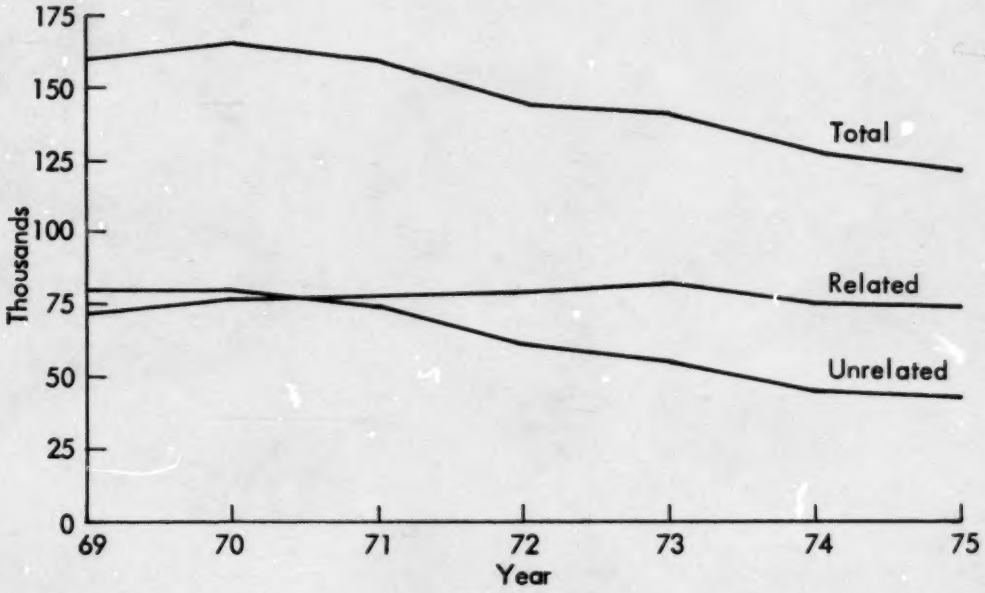

Fig. 1—Children adopted in the U.S. by relationship of petitioner to child: 1969-1975(4)

were adopted by unrelated petitioners than by relatives.* Figure 1 illustrates that adoptions by relatives remained fairly constant since that time, while adoptions by unrelated petitioners declined proportionately. Consequently, adoptions by relatives have represented the majority of adoptions since mid-1970.

The increase in the proportion of adoptions by relatives to adoptions by nonrelatives (who may be assumed to be primarily childless couples wishing to adopt) in recent years may be a concomitant of

---

*Related petitioners are defined by the National Center for Social Statistics as: own parent if both or one of the petitioners were the child's natural parent; stepparent if one of the petitioners was a stepparent, whether or not the other petitioner (if any) was the child's natural parent; or relative other than natural parents or stepparents, such as brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, grandparents or great-grandparents, and great uncles or aunts, whether such relationships were by blood, marriage, or previous adoption.

Unrelated petitioners include all petitioners who are not defined above.

liberalized abortion laws. The decline in unrelated adoptions occurred at the same time as the advent of liberalized abortion laws between 1971 and 1973, and the increased availability of abortion may have reduced the number of unwanted children who would have been adopted by non-relatives.

A pregnant woman has four choices: to abort (if that option is available), to have the baby and give it up for adoption by strangers, to have it adopted by a relative (which may be preferable to surrendering it to a stranger), or to keep it herself. When abortion is available, the decision to keep the child or to abort is a matter of choice. When there is no choice of terminating the pregnancy (as in states without abortion laws), women who did not want a baby in the first place, and who had no relative to assist them, might be more inclined to put their babies up for adoption. Most of these children would then be adopted by unrelated petitioners.

ADOPTION OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Out of wedlock pregnancies are those most frequently terminated by abortion. It seems reasonable to expect that states with liberalized abortion laws would have a higher proportion of illegitimate children being adopted by relatives than states without abortion laws (or those with very restrictive ones) because abortion would drastically reduce the number of babies who would have been adopted by non-relatives.* States that changed from restrictive or no abortion laws

*Related petitioners include a wide range of related persons. Therefore it is impossible to tell what type of relative is the most

to more liberal ones would also be expected to show an increase in the proportion of adoptions by relatives, and states that had early liberal abortion laws could be expected to show an even greater increase than would states that had acquired legalized abortion more recently.

At the end of 1971, 16 states had reformed abortion laws in effect, and 24 states and the District of Columbia were in the reporting network.(5) The Supreme Court decision of early 1973 ruled that no state had the right to prohibit any woman from obtaining an abortion in the first six months of pregnancy.(6) The number of illegitimate children adopted in the United States dropped from 75,000 in 1971 to 54,000 in 1973.* As shown in Table 1 (on following page), the proportion of illegitimate children adopted by unrelated petitioners has declined correspondingly, while the proportion of illegitimate children being adopted by relatives has increased.

TYPE OF PETITIONER ADOPTING ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

The proportion of illegitimate children adopted by relatives in abortion states (27.8 percent) in 1971 was greater than that for

---

frequent adopter. A woman may keep her child and marry later, at which time the child may be adopted by the stepfather. Or she may have the child adopted by a relative, such as her mother, in order to avoid giving it up to a stranger. Both instances would add to the number of related adoptions in nonabortion states and tend to weaken the argument for expected higher proportions of related adoptions in abortion states.

For purposes of this discussion, it is assumed that remarriage with subsequent adoption occurs infrequently, and that adoption by a relative will occur in both abortion and nonabortion states, but for different reasons and probably with dissimilar frequency.

*Derived from 41 states reporting adoption data to the National Center for Social Statistics.

TABLE 1

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN ADOPTED
IN THE UNITED STATES BY RELATIONSHIP
OF PETITIONER TO CHILD: 1969-1975(7)

Year	Illegitimate Children Adopted	Adopted by Unrelated Petitioner	% Un-Related	Adopted by Related Petitioner	% Related
1969	76,436	62,953	82.4	17,612	23.0
1970	79,600	61,895	77.7	17,742	22.3
1971	74,514	55,712	74.8	17,825	23.9
1972	60,296	41,614	69.0	17,302	28.7
1973	53,946	35,951	66.6	16,444	30.5

Note: Columns may not add to total because of estimation.

nonabortion states (24.5 percent).* (See Table 2 for individual breakdown by state.)

Table 3 indicates that all nonabortion states in 1971 that were reporting legal abortions in 1973 experienced an increase in the proportion of adoptions by relatives, except for Connecticut and Nevada. Table 3 also illustrates a greater gain in the proportion of adoptions by relatives in states that were considered abortion states in both 1971 and 1973.

RATE OF ADOPTIONS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN TO ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

Table 4 (see page 10) presents rates of illegitimate children adopted per 1000 illegitimate births** for each year in both

*Abortion states are those reporting statewide legal abortions for a given year.

**There is some degree of error in this measurement technique in that the children adopted may not have been born in the same calendar

TABLE 2

ADOPTIONS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN BY RELATIVES, ABORTION AND NONABORTION STATES, 1971

1971

Abortion State[8]	% Related	Nonabortion State	% Related
Ark.	36.9	Conn.	18.6
Del.	10.5	Fla.	9.7
Ga.	33.4	Ill.	14.2
Hi.	53.7	Ind.	14.2
Kans.	7.8	Ia.	23.2
Md.	42.5	Ky.	33.3
N.M.	22.9	La.	38.7
N.Y.	19.9	Me.	38.7
N.C.	44.3	Mass.	4.0
Va.	33.1	Mich.	29.0
		Minn.	18.2
		Mo.	27.4
		Nev.	47.4
		N.H.	8.3
		N.J.	17.8
		N.D.	23.6
		Okla.	11.6
		Penn.	28.1
		S.D.	20.8
		Tenn.	27.1
		Texas	48.2
		Utah	1.5
		Vt.	30.4
		W. Va.	33.9
		Wyo.	29.3
Total	27.8		24.5

year in which their births were reported and may represent a larger pool. This situation is highly probable for the 1971 data when there was a lag effect. A lot of children were available for adoption because of a shortage of adoptive parents at that time. In such a case, the rates would be inflated and would make the decline in illegitimate adoptions less apparent than it really was. It would also tend to bias the rates for related petitioners upward in all states.

TABLE 3

ADOPTIONS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN BY RELATIVES, ABORTION STATES, 1971 AND 1973

NONABORTION STATES IN 1971 THAT BECAME ABORTION STATES BY 1973 (9)			ABORTION STATES IN BOTH 1971 AND 1973		
	RELATED ADOPTIONS			RELATED ADOPTIONS	
	1971	1973		1971	1973
	Nonabortion	Abortion			
State	%	%	State	%	%
Conn.	18.6	18.3	Ark.	36.9	49.2
Fla.	9.7	17.6	Del.	10.5	47.2
Ill.	14.2	21.0	Ga.	33.4	38.0
Ind.	30.0	43.5	Hi.	53.7	61.1
Ia.	23.2	34.9	Kans.	7.8	8.4
Ky.	38.3	43.7	Md.	42.5	52.6
Maine	38.7	54.9	N.M.	22.9	38.8
Mass.	4.0	5.6	N.Y.	19.9	31.5
Mich.	29.0	35.6	N.C.	44.3	49.7
Minn.	18.2	23.1	Va.	33.1	42.2
Mo.	27.4	41.1			
Nev.	47.4	35.9			
N.H.	8.3	14.1			
N.J.	17.8	28.8			
Okla.	11.6	15.8			
Pa.	28.1	42.6			
S.D.	20.8	33.0			
Tenn.	27.1	34.6			
Texas	48.2	49.5			
Utah	1.5	13.5			
Vt.	30.4	48.7			
W. Va.	33.9	44.6			

TABLE 4

RATES OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN ADOPTED PER 1000 ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS[10] IN STATES DEFINED AS NONABORTION IN 1971 AND AS ABORTION IN 1973

STATE	TOTAL		RELATED	
	1971	1973	1971	1973
Fla.	140.0	93.0	13.7	16.4
Ill.	176.4	130.0	25.1	27.3
Ind.	322.8	221.7	97.9	96.5
Ia.	510.2	360.0	118.6	125.8
Ky.	170.5	153.0	56.7	66.9
Maine	474.5	354.8	183.7	194.8
Mich.	271.7	217.5	78.7	77.5
Minn.	533.7	395.4	97.0	91.4
Mo.	140.3	103.3	38.4	42.5
N.H.	444.6	298.1	36.9	42.0
N.J.	196.4	117.8	35.0	34.0
Okla.	138.5	93.6	10.2	14.8
Pa.	236.1	175.3	66.3	74.8
S.D.	338.8	278.0	74.7	189.0
Tenn.	111.3	99.7	30.2	34.5
Texas	166.0	152.0	80.0	75.2
Utah	693.1	393.0	10.3	51.7
W. Va.	123.0	113.6	41.7	50.6

types of states. These data further support the relationship of the availability of abortion to the decline in all illegitimate children who were adopted between 1971 and 1973 and to the increase in illegitimate children adopted by relatives. Although a few states show more decline than others (this may be a function of the time the law went into effect, as well as other factors), all states declined in the rate of adoptions of illegitimate children to illegitimate births between these years.

Table 4 further illustrates that, with few exceptions, the rate of illegitimate children adopted by relatives increased as states adopted more liberal abortion laws. Rates do decline in a few states

(Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, and Texas) but the decrease is not appreciable.

Although the availability of abortion has apparently had an effect in reducing the numbers of illegitimate children available for adoption and may have contributed to a larger proportion of illegitimate children adopted by relatives, it cannot account for the entire drop in the supply of children available for adoption that has occurred in recent years. This phenomena is also due to the growing numbers of unwed mothers who are keeping their babies.

SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF GIRLS WHO KEEP THEIR BABIES

What are the reasons unmarried mothers keep their babies? Several studies conclude that major determinants of that decision are low socioeconomic status, little education, religion (Catholic or Protestant Fundamental), and older age.

Meyer[11] reported in 1956 that religion, education (less than college), putative father being married, and age (18 or over) were found to be predictors of the decision with 83 percent accuracy. A later replication study in 1959[12] indicated, however, that religion was the only strongly associated factor. Vincent reported in 1960[13] that girls who kept their babies were older, less educated, came from low socioeconomic families, and were working in semi- or unskilled occupations. Many came from broken homes and had unfavorable intra-family relationships.

An extensive study by Grow[14] in 1966 of 2,606 girls in 12 maternity hospitals demonstrated that most of them had less than a high school education and came from lower income families. This study,

however, did not establish a relationship between age or religion on the decision to keep the child. Festinger[15] reported in 1968 that women who kept their children tended to be older (around 20), were not likely to be students, had a fairly high level of education (one-third had some college), and had established their own homes. In accordance with Vincent[16] and Grow,[17] this study also indicated that these girls were likely to come from homes broken by divorce or separation.

A study by Kane[18] in 1973 also indicated that pregnant girls who decided to keep their babies came from blue-collar households, had limited educations, and had experienced parental absence before the age of 18. In 1974, Butts[19] also reported findings of low socioeconomic status, low education, and high church attendance, but reported age to be under 18. This finding was in contrast to earlier studies that indicated that the girls were usually older. In 1976, Swiger[20] also determined religion to be a key variable that influenced the decision to keep a child.

A tendency for these girls to be sexually promiscuous was discussed in some studies. Girls who decided to keep their children often reported a casual relationship with their partners[21] and frequently had more than one sexual partner.[22] This tendency has not been firmly established. Festinger[23] points out that several girls who planned to keep their babies had maintained a continuing relationship with the father for at least a year, kept in touch with him, and had frequently discussed marriage plans.

Many of these girls appeared to indulge in a "hippie" lifestyle--they had dropped out of school, were living with other disaffected

young people, used contraception only occasionally, and conducted their sexual behavior in a very casual manner.[24,25] A greater range of personality disorders was also manifested. These girls displayed considerable anxiety, defensiveness, and neuroticism and were not predicted to be successful parents.[26]

While these characteristics may adequately describe the type of young woman who tends to keep her baby, they do not account for the marked increase in numbers of women who keep their children that has occurred in recent years. The reasons for this increase can only be speculative at this time. As Friedman[27] points out, society is no longer as disapproving of unwed mothers as it has been in the past, and many young women are felt to show courage by keeping their child and are admired for their decision. The notion that the natural mother is the best person to rear a child seems to be very persistent.[28,29]

There are a host of other reasons why girls may want to keep their children. First of all, they may want to love and take care of them. The child may represent an accomplishment on their part, or be seen as a symbol of their own self-worth, femininity, or independence. The child may also serve as a bargaining chip for getting attention from a boyfriend or parent, or may be used as a reason to drop out of school or to quit a job.[30]

CONSEQUENCES OF UNWED PARENTHOOD

Whatever the reasons that motivate a young woman to keep her child may be, the consequences of such a decision are often serious and far-reaching. Young women are rarely aware of the responsibilities

involved in rearing a child, and are not well prepared for the financial and emotional difficulties that arise throughout the course of parenthood.

Most young unmarried mothers are at an educational and financial disadvantage if they have dropped out of school because of their pregnancy. They lack requisite skills as well as the opportunity to develop them that might enable them to compete effectively in the labor market. Many receive financial assistance under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children welfare program, but usually this money provides only a minimum subsistence.

Emotionally, many young mothers feel "dislocated." They are no longer able to enjoy the same social activities as their peers and are usually too young to interact effectively with those whom they emulate as their role model -- the older divorced single parent. Many experience feelings of low self-esteem which are frequently imparted to the child. Feelings of despair and alienation also rise in these young parents and they often turn to the child for emotional support. If the child disappoints their expectations, the child's behavior may be interpreted as a personal rejection and the frustration of the mother may well be taken out on the child. Young unmarried mothers are reported to represent a disproportionate number of child abusers in the United States;[31] however, child abuse statistics tend to be incomplete and it may be questionable that the reporting method is unbiased.[32]

Illegitimate children face poorer life chances than legitimate children. Infant mortality (the first year of life) is consistently

higher for illegitimate births than for legitimate. Children who are born to young mothers and survive are likely to be physically disadvantaged. They have a lower median birth weight (5.5 pounds or less) which can contribute to such developmental problems as cerebral palsy, epilepsy, and mental retardation; many of them are syphlitic.

The deleterious effects of young single motherhood, however, are not necessarily inevitable. Intervention by social service agencies can greatly aid the mother by helping her finish her education, by finding her a job, by providing psychological counseling, and by arranging for the care of her child. Such services typically try to put young mothers in touch with a single-parent network -- a supportive group of persons with similar circumstances -- who tend to reinforce and guide each other. There are 600 or 700 such agencies in the country, but it is not clear how many of them offer truly complete and effective programs.

CONCLUSION

In view of the tenuous emotional and financial profile of the unwed mother, and the lack of social services, the risk of negative outcomes to illegitimate children seems very high indeed. Would it not be more beneficial to the mother, the child, and society for a woman who is pregnant and unwed to choose either abortion or adoption instead of attempting to rear a child alone? In the case of very young unwed mothers, the decision to keep their children is frequently based on emotion and impulse, and the gap between reality and the romantic notion of motherhood is wide. And, in general, unwed mothers tend to encounter less chance of getting married, restricted career

opportunities, and are typically subjected to diminished social contacts.

Their children's future is far from secure, as well, even though the children are perceived as wanted and loved. A child adopted into a two-parent family simply has more advantages. There are more people to pay attention to him and to provide for his present and future needs. He has a greater chance of having brothers and sisters, and will be accepted by society. In light of the high demand for babies in today's adoption market, and the low supply, it seems an anomaly that fewer children are adopted now than in the past.

Perhaps if the benefits of adoption for the child were more well-known to women faced with the dilemma of unwed pregnancy, their decision might be more easily and realistically made. If the lack of information about the advantages of adoption for their child is a factor that has influenced more and more young women to keep their illegitimate children, this omission--as well as other influences--should be further explored.

REFERENCES

1. Wendy H. Baldwin, "Adolescent Pregnancy and Childbearing--Growing Concerns for Americans," *Population Bulletin*, Population Reference Bureau, XXXI, 2 (September 1976).

2. Leslie A. Westoff, "Kids With Kids," *The New York Times Magazine* (February 22, 1976).

3. Helen L. Friedman, "Why Are They Keeping Their Babies?," *Social Work*, XX (July 1975), 322-323.

4. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Social Statistics, *Adoptions in 1969-1975*, Table 1.

5. Jack C. Smith and Judith P. Bourne, "Abortion Surveillance Program of the Center for Disease Control," *Health Services Reports* (March 1973), 255-259.

6. Roe vs. Wade, 93 S. Ct., *Supreme Court Reporter* (1973), 705-739.

7. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Social Statistics, *op. cit.*, Table 3.

8. June Sklar and Beth Berkov, "Abortion, Illegitimacy, and the American Birth Rate," *Science*, CVXC (September 13, 1974), Table 3, 912.

9. Ellen Sullivan, Christopher Tietze, and Joy H. Dryfoos, "Legal Abortion in the United States," *Family Planning Perspectives*, IX, 3 (May/June 1977), Table 2, 116.

10. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Vital Statistics of the United States*, Table 1-69 (1971); Table 1-70 (1973).

11. Henry J. Meyer, Wyatt Jones, and Edgar F. Borgatta, "The Decision of Unmarried Mothers to Keep or Surrender Their Babies," *Social Work*, I, 2 (1956), 103-109.

12. Henry J. Meyer, Edgar F. Borgatta, and David Fanshel, "Unwed Mothers' Decisions About Their Babies: An Interim Replication Study," *Child Welfare*, XXXVIII, 2 (1959), 1-6.

13. Clark Vincent, "Unwed Mothers and the Adoption Market: Psychological and Familial Factors," *Marriage and Family Living*, XXII (1960), 112-118.

14. Lucille J. Grow, "The Unwed Mother Who Keeps Her Child," in *The Double Jeopardy--The Triple Crisis: Illegitimacy Today* (New York: National Council on Illegitimacy, 1969), 115-125.

15. Trudy B. Festinger, "Unwed Mothers and Their Decision to Keep or Surrender Children," *Child Welfare*, L (May 1971), 253-263.

16. Vincent, *op. cit.*, 112.

17. Grow, *op. cit.*, 122.

18. Francis J. Kane and Peter A. Lachenbruch, "Adolescent Pregnancy: A Study of Aborters and Nonaborters," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XLIII, 5 (october 1973), 796-803.

19. Robert Y. Butts and Michael J. Sporakowski, "Unwed Pregnancy Decisions: Some Background Factors," *Journal of Sex Research*, X, 2 (May 1974), 110-117.

20. Mary E. Swiger, Ruth Breslin, Miriam G. Pouzzner, and Donald Quinlan, "Interview Follow-up of Abortion Applicant Dropouts," *Social Psychiatry*, XI, 3 (July 1976), 135-143.

21. Butts, *op. cit.*, 111.

22. Kane, *op. cit.*, 799.

23. Festinger, *op. cit.*, 259.

24. Kane, *op. cit.*, 300.

25. Sharon Gedan, "Abortion Counseling with Adolescents," *American Journal of Nursing*, LXXIV, 10 (October 1974), 1856-1858.

26. Kane, *op. cit.*, 802-803.

27. Friedman, *op. cit.*, 322-323.

28. *Ibid.*

29. David H. Kirk, *Shared Fate: A Theory of Adoption and Mental Health* (The Free Press, New York, London, 1964), 43-44.

30. Friedman, *op. cit.*, 323.

31. Westoff, *op. cit.*, 17.

32. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, 28.

TABLE 1

ADOPTIONS OF CHILDREN, 1969-1975[4]

STATE	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Ala.	1400	1414	1615	2313	2398	2463	2675
Alaska	790	742	742	699[a]	656[a]	614[a]	572[a]
Ariz.	2680	2523	2523	2376[a]	2229[a]	2086[a]	1943[a]
Ark.	890	924	958	933	907	898	769
Calif.	19800	18457	13645	13616[a]	13587[a]	13559	11015
Conn.	2800	1875	1519	1124[a]	728	713	722
Del.	330	382	215	255	318	263	314
D.C.	800	800	755[a]	709[a]	517[a]	325	293
Fla.	7200	7271	7192	7174	7262	6718	6523
Ga.	3300	2803	3025	2613	2676	2551	2047
Hi.	1000	1124	936	736	811	887	742
Ill.	9500	9413	9533	8125	9011	7704[a]	6398[a]
Ind.	4900	4800	5775	5033	4541	4860	5379
Ia.	3000	3087	2986	2809	2578	2680	2521
Kans.	2200	2468	2281	2198	1544[a]	889	847
Ky.	1700	1870	1611	1481	2092	1398	1560
La.	2900	2921	2944	2807	1713	2796	2847
Maine	1300	1431	1329	1210	1234	1075	1042
Md.	3900	2995	2728	2376	2375	2332	2165
Mass.	2544[a]	2503[a]	2462	1722	2009	1508	1034
Mich.	7700	8879	8979	7645	8369	7177	8912
Minn.	3700	3944	3878	3297	3162	3045	3135
Mo.	2700	2524	2572	1452	2356	1982[a]	2185[a]
Mont.	1000	1052	985	1042	984[a]	926[a]	868[a]
Nev.	780	787	725	912	465	315	388
N.H.	610	677	694	665	646	716	648
N.J.	3800	3923	3904	3455	3015	2631	2626
N.M.	1200	1173	1090	1236	1107	980	997
N.Y.	10300	10617	11375	10073	8128	8054	3605
N.C.	3200	3116	3154	2783[a]	2411	4061	3701
N.D.	520	664	557	581	609	552	453[a]
Ohio	8300	9373	9069	8511	8524	7847	7588
Okla.	2400	3114	2745	1704[a]	664	810	725
Ore.	2900	3083	2693	2718[a]	2743[a]	2768	2257[a]
Pa.	7600	7621	7465	6991	6615	5963	5983
P.R.	320	271	280	339	342	279	224
R.I.	680	719	741	698[a]	655[a]	613[a]	571[a]
S.C.	1800	2043	1947	1911	1954	1829[a]	1703[a]
S.D.	580	575	607	594	554	521	517
Tenn.	1700	2154	2154	1520	2186	1477	2107
Tex.	12000	12378	11682	12034[a]	12385	3608	6316
Utah	724[a]	713[a]	701	359	390	385	448
Vt.	520	477	520	502	428	430	502
V.I.	35	25	25	37[a]	48	41[a]	34[a]
Va.	3800	3742	3962	3807	2994	3333	3866
Wash.	4500	4382	4077	3749[a]	3421[a]	3093	2885
W.Va.	1500	1429	1559	1537	1479	1352	1219
Wisc.	3900	3721	3831	3561[a]	3291[a]	3020[a]	2573
Wyo.	540	585	459	456	550	547[a]	543
TOTAL:	159308	163569	157204	143914	139681	124674	118990

[a]Estimated.

TABLE 2

ADOPTIONS OF CHILDREN BY UNRELATED PETITIONERS, 1969-1975(4)

STATE	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Ala.	890[a]	823[a]	756[a]	688	581	438	419
Alaska	450	421	421	359[a]	297[a]	256[a]	235[a]
Ariz.	1100	835	835	712[a]	589[a]	645[a]	700[a]
Ark.	390	413	390	285	290	302	243
Calif.	10200	8365	5643	5426[a]	5208[a]	4337	4271
Conn.	1100	1001	866	670[a]	471	528	498
Del.	150	159	151	104	81	82	92
D.C.	570	572	540[a]	508[a]	380[a]	205	202
Fla.	3300	3178	2789	2277	1892	1726	1714
Ga.	1500	1267	1254	1022	1053	999	594
Hi.	430	441	262	160	160	178	143
Ill.	5700	5668	5684	4489	4439	3972[a]	3505[a]
Ind.	2200	2140	2426	1893	1552	1511	1625
Ia.	1500	1579	1478	1169	959	889	793
Kans.	1300	1257	1188	975	842[a]	708	647
Ky.	860	932	783	649	868	508	448
La.	1200	1220	1190	975	618	826	737
Maine	450	502	491	366	313	269	255
Md.	1300	1372	1069	901	700	678	588
Mass.	2400	2426	2239	1491	1760	1171	1000
Mich.	3900	4661	4502	3383	3704	2080	3284
Minn.	2300	2556	2393	1863	1697	1537	1570
Mo.	1400	1181	1184	513	818	657	694
Mont.	480	481	447	398	358[a]	318[a]	277[a]
Nev.	310	360	262	205	168	115	110
N.H.	270	343	293	255	227	213	201
N.J.	2300	2322	2338	1904	1429	980	1223
N.M.	550	527	546	517	373	260	301
N.Y.	6500	6717	7058	5594	3893	3825	1755
N.C.	1400	1400	1183	1003[a]	823	1342	1053
N.D.	300	369	296	289	281	191	186[a]
Ohio	4100	4823	4513	3566	3233	2816	2785
Okla.	800	757	779	675[a]	571	688	629
Ore.	1500	1478	1103	997[a]	891[a]	784	762[a]
Pa.	3900	3871	3762	2949	2505	2088	2233
P.R.	150	127	112	144	147	112	77
R.I.	300	271	283	242[a]	200[a]	179[a]	158[a]
S.C.	921[a]	947	851	732	690	618[a]	545[a]
S.D.	320	317	347	294	248	224	201
Tenn.	930	916	916	761	767	508	557
Tex.	5100	5257	3999	4005[a]	4010	1109	2013
Utah	800	636	675	280	329	349	404
Vt.	240	259	244	209	173	164	155
V.I.	18	5	5	16[a]	27	24[a]	21[a]
Va.	1800	1781	1793	1653	1014	1149	1152
Wash.	2600	2464	2112	2563[a]	1731[a]	901	997
W. Va.	510	522	343	334	289	266	210
Misc.	2400	2319	2450	2090[a]	1729[a]	1468[a]	1207
Wyo.	140	229	173	158[a]	142[a]	126[a]	110[a]
TOTAL:	83229	82467	75417	62711	55523	45329	43580

[a]Estimated

TABLE 3

ADOPTIONS OF CHILDREN BY RELATED PETITIONER, 1969-1975[4]

STATE	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Ala.	1464[a]	1518[a]	1572[a]	1625	1799	1929	2157
Alaska	340	321	321	325[a]	329[a]	314[a]	298[a]
Ariz.	1400	1529	1529	1547[a]	1565[a]	1492[a]	1419[a]
Ark.	490	505	563	635	616	587	525
Calif.	9600	10091	7997	8442[a]	8832[a]	9222	6744
Conn.	930	874	653	454[a]	254	185	224
Del.	180	221	64	150	230	181	222
D.C.	230	228	233[a]	239[a]	244[a]	119	89
Fla.	3900	4093	4402	4897	5367	4988	4347
Ga.	1800	1531	1758	1569	1611	1531	1397
Hi.	580	678	671	573	647	707	598
Illinois	3800	3745	3849	3636	4548	4336[a]	4124[a]
Ind.	2700	2660	3349	3140	2989	3349	3754
Ia.	1400	1489	1503	1637	1608	1782	1721
Kans.	910	1198	1058	1192	672[a]	151	153
Ky.	810	922	811	790	1203	860	730
La.	1600	1695	1750	1826	1069	1962	2108
Maine	760	889	685	698	676	478	753
Md.	1500	1608	1627	1474	1671	1654	1565
Mass.	201[a]	211[a]	221	228	242	325	34
Mich.	3800	4202	4473	4261	4665	3153	4683
Minn.	1300	1384	1485	1434	1465	1508	1565
Mo.	1300	1264	1298	879	1491	1259	1440
Mont.	540	557	522	634	617[a]	600[a]	583[a]
Nevada	470	426	457	547	297	200	274
N.H.	330	330	397	407	419	490	432
N.J.	1500	1600	1562	1551	1586	1647	1369
N.M.	610	619	538	713	717	700	693
N.Y.	3800	3900	4317	4479	4235	4229	1850
N.C.	1800	1716	1971	1780[a]	1588	2719	2646
N.D.	230	295	261	292	324	356	367[a]
Ohio	4100	4536	4533	4945	5291	4954	4803
Okla.	170	151	156	123	90	118	85
Ore.	1400	1597	1580	1714[a]	1848[a]	1982	2045[a]
Pa.	3700	3733	3659	4018	4106	3869	3738
P.R.	170	143	151	194	192	166	145
R.I.	380	448	458	464[a]	469[a]	447[a]	425
S.C.	1045[a]	1096	1094	1179	1263	1204[a]	1145[a]
S.D.	260	257	257	299	305	296	313
Tenn.	770	1220	1220	752	1401	959	1535
Texas	6000	6508	6950	7310[a]	7670	2348	4175
Utah	24[a]	25[a]	26	24	23	33	40
Vt.	280	218	274	293	250	260	346
V. Isles	19[a]	20	20	21[a]	21	20[a]	19[a]
Virginia	2000	1896	2126	2140	1970	2110	2685
Wash.	1900	1846	1907	1959[a]	2011[a]	2062	1872
W. Va.	960	907	1197	1203	1171	1086	1009
Wisc.	1500	1402	1381	1335[a]	1289	1242[a]	1336
Wyo.	3	356	286	298	580	553[a]	526[a]
TOTAL	74956	78658	79172	80431	83229	76522	75111

[a]Estimated.

TABLE 4

ADOPTIONS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN, 1969-1973[7]

STATE	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Ariz.	1390	1214	1214	1062[a]	910[a]
Ark.	470	458	493	397	427
Calif.	4780	8043	5114	3835[a]	3424[a]
Conn.	1340	1215	1003	596	504
Del.	218	221	153	154	123
Fla.	3100	3042	2578	2112	1768
Ga.	1800	1606	1615	1333	1373
Hi.	620	642	499	363	350
Ill.	5050	5061	4419	3958	3852
Ind.	2530	2525	2672	2404	2039
Iowa	1670	1620	1643	1389	1119
Kans.	1210	1190	1108	919	762
Ky.	1070	1027	932	834	865
La.	1770	1723	1730	1543	1544
Maine	670	763	651	529	468
Md.	1770	1822	1562	1239	1102
Mass.	2234[a]	2177[a]	2121	1414	1547
Mich.	4800	5494	5218	4016	4408
Minn.	2620	2809	2631	2047	1778
Mo.	1560	1316	1334	577	977
Mont.	510	523	469	460	411[a]
Nev.	352	249	232	286	198
N.H.	329	320	265	221	206
N.J.	2520	2603	2586	2105	1598
N.M.	640	590	536	606	482
N.Y.	7400	7703	8149	6704	4837
N.C.	1970	1959	1872	1614[a]	1355
N.D.	347	433	351	336	315
Ore.	1620	1635	1274	1115[a]	955[a]
Pa.	4500	4402	4232	3510	2955
P.R.	200	168	178	223	205
R.I.	400	385	434	380[a]	325[a]
S.D.	350	359	374	328	303
Tenn.	1020	1018	1018	823	956
Texas	4700	4794	3796	3815[a]	3833
Utah	604[a]	604[a]	603	274	319
Vt.	330	339	296	253	189
V.I.	32	18	18	16[a]	13[a]
Va.	2440	2281	2237	2103	1377
Wash.	2740	2576	2223	1945[a]	1667[a]
Wisc.	2760	2673	2809	2458[a]	2107[a]
TOTAL:	76436	79600	74514	60296	53946

[a]Estimated.

TABLE 5

ADOPTIONS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN BY UNRELATED PETITIONERS, 1969-1973[7]

STATE	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Ariz.	990	768	768	631[a]	93[a]
Ark.	310	310	311	213	217
Calif.	9400	7637	4784	3927[a]	3069[a]
Conn.	1000	945	816	501	412
Del.	130	142	137	90	65
Fla.	2800	2778	2327	1821	1456
Ga.	1300	1119	1075	835	851
Hi.	400	390	231	128	136
Ill.	4300	4344	4387	3249	3045
Ind.	1800	1750	2001	1500	1152
Iowa	1300	1254	1261	958	728
Kans.	1100	1103	1022	831	698
Ky.	780	732	622	536	487
La.	1100	1060	1060	837	838
Maine	380	426	399	271	211
Md.	160	1183	898	723	522
Mass.	2115[a]	2173	2037	1340	1460
Mich.	3300	3869	3707	2663	2838
Minn.	2200	2367	2153	1616	1367
Mo.	1200	957	969	361	575
Mont.	400	401	365	320	281[a]
Nev.	270	183	122	146	127
N.H.	240	302	243	204	177
N.J.	2100	2116	2125	1660	1137
N.M.	480	456	413	427	295
N.Y.	6000	6238	6528	5072	3312
N.C.	1200	1224	1042	862[a]	682
N.D.	280	352	268	245	235
Ore.	1300	1264	909	746[a]	583[a]
Pa.	3200	3171	3043	546	1695
P.R.	110	86	81	92	99
R.I.	280	252	263	276[a]	169[a]
S.D.	290	273	296	237	203
Tenn.	790	742	742	623	625
Texas	2900	2957	1966	1952[a]	1937
Utah	710	552	594	242	276
Vt.	220	253	206	167	97
V.I.	18	5	5	4[a]	3[a]
Va.	1600	1511	1497	1346	796
Wash.	2300	2100	1767	1451[a]	1134[a]
Wisc.	2200	2150	2272	1865[a]	1458[a]
TOTAL:	62953	61895	55712	41614	35941

[a]Estimated.

TABLE 6

ADOPTIONS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN BY RELATED PETITIONERS, 1969-1973[7]

STATE	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Ariz.	400	446	446	428[a]	409[a]
Ark.	160	148	182	184	210
Calif.	380	406	330	317[a]	303[a]
Conn.	340	270	187	95	92
Del.	88	79	16	64	58
Fla.	260	264	251	291	312
Ga.	500	487	540	498	322
Hi.	220	252	268	235	214
Ill.	750	717	727	689	807
Ind.	730	775	871	904	887
Iowa	370	366	382	431	391
Kans.	110	87	86	88	64
Ky.	290	295	310	298	378
La.	670	663	670	706	706
Maine	290	337	252	258	257
Md.	670	639	664	516	580
Mass.	83[a]	84[a]	84	74	87
Mich.	1500	1625	1511	1353	1570
Minn.	420	442	478	431	411
Mo.	360	359	365	216	402
Mont.	110	122	104	140	133[a]
Nev.	82	66	110	140	71
N.H.	89	18	22	17	29
N.J.	450	487	461	445	461
N.M.	160	134	123	179	187
N.Y.	1400	1465	1621	1632	1525
N.C.	770	735	830	752[a]	673
N.D.	67	81	83	41	80
Ore.	320	371	365	350[a]	335[a]
Pa.	1300	1231	1189	1240	1260
P.R.	90	82	97	131	106
R.I.	120	133	171	164[a]	157[a]
S.D.	60	86	78	91	100
Tenn.	230	276	276	200	331
Texas	1800	1837	1830	1863[a]	1896
Utah	9[a]	9[a]	9[a]	32	43
Vt.	110	86	90	86	92
V.I.	14	13	13	13[a]	12[a]
Va.	840	770	740	757	581
Wash.	440	476	450	438[a]	419[a]
Wisc.	560	523	537	515[a]	493
TOTAL:	17612	17742	17825	17302	16444

[a]Estimated.